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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the problems of the teaching profession from the perspective of the classroom teacher, and attempts to develop a set of policy recommendations related to improving teaching conditions and teacher effectiveness. Information collection focused on data obtained from in-depth interviews conducted with 73 elementary and secondary school teachers in the Dade County (Florida) Public Schools. Among discouraging factors that affected teachers were: (1) changing student and parent attitudes and values toward education; (2) changing nature of the teacher's role; (3) loss of control in curriculum and evaluation; (4) changing status of the profession; and (5) teacher salaries. Data indicated that improvement of such situational factors as physical teaching conditions and quality of administrative leadership could increase job satisfaction. Recommendations for change are presented regarding teacher recruitment, selection, retention, and further research. (CB)

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TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROBLEMS OF THEIR PROFESSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS AND PRACTITIONERS

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INTRODUCTION

Educational professionals who either work in schools (teachers, administrators, specialists) or spend a great deal of time in them (teacher educators, researchers) have known for quite some time that serious problems exist in the profession of teaching. More recently, however, a number of reports issued by national commissions, private foundations, and educational organizations have brought many of the problems to the attention of the public (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; Boyer, 1983; Goodlad, 1984; Sizer, 1984; Darling-Hammond, 1984; Carnegie Forum on Education, 1986). Now, as perhaps never before in our nation's history, there appears to be a genuine concern among professionals and the public alike as to the difficulties and importance of attracting bright people into the profession, of retaining within the profession the most talented and successful practitioners, and of increasing the productivity of all classroom teachers.

The overarching purpose of this paper is two-fold: to increase understanding of the problems of the teaching profession, from the perspective of the classroom teacher, and to develop a set of policy recommendations related to improving the conditions as well as the productivity of teachers' work. Its ultimate aim is to help school districts implement more successful teacher selection, utilization and retention practices and to help make the profession as a whole more valued. The data base is a set of in-depth interviews conducted during 1984-85 with 73 randomly selected elementary and secondary teachers in the Dade County Public schools, Miami, Florida.*

More specifically, this paper, for the purpose of context, begins with a consideration of the problems of the profession as identified in recent

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*The data collected for this study is part of a larger research project, "Teacher Work, Incentives and Rewards: A Twenty Year Perspective," sponsored by the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Education (Contract #N.I.E.-G-83-0067), dealing with perceptions and attitudes of teachers towards their work.

proposals for educational reform. Next, it describes in some detail major problems of the profession as seen by the teachers in this study. Finally, it analyzes the implications of the findings and makes recommendations for policymakers, school district personnel, teacher educators, and educational researchers.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: AN OVERVIEW OF RECENT REPORTS

The years 1982 through 1986 were noteworthy in terms of the quantity and quality of reports on the need for educational reform in America. Reports from the National Commission on Excellence, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Twentieth Century Fund, the Association of Secondary School Principals, the College Board, and other institutions and organizations persuasively argued that there must be drastic improvements in the overall quality of classroom instruction. The problems identified and the proposals for change varied among the numerous reports, but there was considerable overlap as well. Most called for some type of changes in curriculum, pedagogy, expectations, and requirements. Moreover, each of the most widely-publicized reports maintained that fundamental changes in the teaching profession were central to the improvement of education more generally.

A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, issued by The National Commission on Excellence in Education in 1983, was the first of these reports which sought to communicate to the public the serious problems that exist in the profession. According to that report:

> The Commission found that not enough of the academically able students are being attracted to teaching; that teacher preparation programs need substantial improvement; that the professional working life of teachers is on the whole unacceptable; and that a serious shortage of teachers exists in key fields. (p. 17)

A few months later, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching published High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America by Ernest L. Boyer, the President of the Foundation. Boyer argued that the teaching profession must be renewed and that the conditions of teaching must be changed. In this summary statement, he made his point with simplicity and clarity: "The working conditions of teachers must improve. Many people think teachers have soft undemanding jobs. The reality is different. Teachers are expected to work miracles day after day and then often get only silence from the students, pressure from the principal, and criticism from the irate parent." (p. 307)

He also maintained that teacher salaries must be increased, that outstanding students should be recruited into teaching, that schooling of teachers must improve, that continuing education of the teacher must be strengthened, that a career path for teachers should be developed, and that skilled professionals should be recruited to teach part-time in the nation's schools.

In 1984, John Goodlad published A Place Called School, a study of elementary and secondary public schools in 38 states, and he too addressed the problems of the teaching profession as related to the improvement of schooling. He stressed the need for more teacher planning time, and a career ladder which would differentiate among head teachers, residents, and interns. That same year Theodore Sizer reported his analysis of secondary schools, both public and private, in Horace's Compromise. From Sizer's vantage point, the central mission of the high school is to teach students how to think and teachers face an impossible task in that regard because of the large number of students they must teach each day (typically, 150) and the large amount of material they are expected to "cover." He argued, therefore, that a key to improving the

conditions of teaching is a reduction in class size and the amount of required curriculum.

While these reports, and others, were citing the problems of the profession as one of several issues to be addressed in the broader effort to improve our educational system at large, there have been, more recently, reports devoted exclusively to problems of the teaching profession. Explicitly or implicitly, these reports suggest that unless the problems of the profession are addressed, reforms in curriculum, instruction, and standards are impossible or at least highly unlikely.

Linda Darling-Hammond, for example, in Beyond the Commission Reports: The Coming Crisis in Teaching (1984), argued that the "the crisis now emerging in the teaching profession could preclude the attainment of the other reforms being urged." (p. 1) In her view, the crisis is the result of a dramatically changing teaching force. The present work force, a highly educated and experienced group, is declining substantially because many of the older teachers are retiring and many of the younger teachers are leaving for other more lucrative opportunities. At the same time, there is evidence that the numbers entering the profession are insufficient to meet the demand and that this smaller cohort is less academically able than the one it is replacing. This situation leads Darling-Hammond to conclude: "If the public schools are to attract enough highly qualified people to become teachers, working conditions and compensation must change in significant ways." (p. 1)

Darling-Hammond identified the following problems in working conditions: lack of physical support (adequate facilities and materials), lack of support services (clerical help for typing, duplicating, and paperwork); lack of administrative support (an environment where work is supported and valued as opposed to obstructed by interruptions and non-teaching tasks), lack of teacher

autonomy and control over issues that directly affect classroom work, and large classes.

In 1986 The Carnegie Forum's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession went several steps farther and called for a restructuring of the entire profession. In its report entitled A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century, the following major changes were recommended: creation of a National Board for Teaching Standards that would set high standards and certify those who have reached them; restructuring of schools so that teachers have more authority but, at the same time, be more responsible for student progress; restructuring of the teaching force with a new category of Lead Teachers who would take a leadership role in redesigning schools and in teacher training; making of teachers' salaries and opportunities competitive with those of other professions; requiring all certified teachers to have a liberal arts degree as a foundation and a masters degree in education.

Thus this paper is written in a context in which there is not only a widespread recognition that the teaching profession is in trouble, but also a delineation of particular issues to be addressed and a host of proposed solutions. Still, there are important questions to be raised. The first is what are the problems of the profession -- from the perspective of the teacher? All of the reports cited emanate from prestigious and scholarly foundations, commissions, and organizations rather than from the classroom. The teacher's point of view was considered in each study but with varying degrees of emphasis. One contribution this paper can make is to identify, from the vantage point of those who work in classrooms on a daily basis, the factors which discourage them or their colleagues from staying in the classroom or from recommending the profession to others. This paper focuses exclusively on the views and the voices of classroom teachers in regard to the nature and extent of the problems plaguing their profession.

A second question that remains is how do the factors cited actually manifest themselves in the daily life of the teacher? This paper presents a myriad of concrete images of the particular problems experienced by teachers in one of the nation's largest and most diverse school districts.* Through the teachers' own words, the realities of the workplace come sharply into focus.

A third question involves the relative scope and importance of the variety of problems that have been identified. Are some issues more salient than others? Are there some problems that are troublesome for teachers across all settings and others that are situational? This paper highlights the problems that appear to be present across all school sites, but, at the same time, indicates those that appear to vary according to setting. A fourth related question is whether the factors that discourage teachers from remaining in the classroom are the same or different from those that discourage individuals from entering the profession.

A fifth and final question concerns those who remain in teaching despite the discouraging factors. Some who remain are clearly enthusiastic and have found ways to cope with the factors that force others out (Cohn, Provenzo, Kottkamp, 1986). Others who stay are not coping successfully. They put in their time but they feel neither effective nor energized. Are there any

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*In Schoolteacher (1975) Dan Lortie argued that: "The Miami area is a better-than-average site for ascertaining teacher attitudes in two major respects. First, over five thousand persons work as teachers throughout the various sub-communities in Dade County. Second, the characteristics of these teachers reflect the great migration into Southern Florida. Fewer than 25 percent (23.7) of the respondents were born in Florida; 21.3 percent were born in other parts of the South, 5.2 percent in New England, 24.6 percent in New York, New Jersey, Delaware or Pennsylvania and 6.8 in a state west of the Mississippi. The teaching staff probably has one of the most diverse regional origins among large school systems." (p. 246-247). Those arguments were equally applicable in 1984. In 1984 approximately 12,000 teachers were under contract in the Dade County system and fewer than 27% (26.7) were born in Florida. Geographical origins included: 13.7% from other parts of the South, 4.1% from New England, 24.2% from New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, 9.4% from the Midwest, 4.9% from states west of the Mississippi, 13% from Cuba and 4% from other foreign countries.

distinguishing characteristics that separate these groups and can inform selection and retention practices?

The following section attempts to address these remaining questions through an analysis of the interview data from the Dade County teachers.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION: THE TEACHER'S PERSPECTIVE

The Teacher Sample

The teachers in this study were part of a larger N.I.E. project which used as its baseline, data collected by Dan C. Lortie in the mid-1960s for his classic work Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (1975). The research extended Lortie's work through the use of a teacher survey, administered in April 1984, an interview study conducted between May 1984 and August 1985, and the collection of historical data. The teacher survey drew a 40% random sample of classroom teachers (N=4,247) from each school in the Dade County Public School System (N=251). A total of 2,718 teachers (64%) responded to the survey.

A stratified random sample of 100 teachers was drawn for interviews. Stratification was accomplished by assigning each school to a three by three matrix consisting of three levels of socio-economic status and three levels of grade range (elementary, junior high and senior high). Thirty-six schools were randomly selected from the nine cells and teachers were then randomly selected within each school chosen. A total of 73 teachers eventually participated in the interviews, of which 53 were women and 20 were men. The grade level figures were: 30 elementary, 17 junior high, and 26 high school teachers. The ethnic mix was 48 Whites, 14 Blacks and 11 Hispanics.

The teachers answered questions originally designed for Lortie's interview study which focused on work rewards and incentives, and new questions which dealt with some of the reform issues of the 1980's. The interviews ranged from one to two and a half hours in length. Each of the quotations from the interviews is identified with a number assigned to each

interviewee, a designation for sex (Female, Male), ethnicity (Black, Hispanic, White), school grade level (Elementary, Junior, Senior), school socio-economic level (Low, Medium, High) and interviewee's teaching area.

The Teacher's Perspective: An Overview

The teachers in the sample validate the findings of the national reports in that they identify as discouraging factors many of the problems summarized above. What appears to be significant, however, is that several of the factors they see as looming large in the decision to leave the profession have received less attention in the major reports and in national, state, and local change efforts. Moreover, they see the problem of attracting capable new people to the profession as somewhat different from that of retaining good teachers. In this section, the focus will be first on the major discouraging factors as experienced across all Dade County school settings and second on those discouraging factors that appear to vary according to the setting. Third, the differences between the factors that discourage individuals from entering the profession and those that discourage teachers from staying in the profession are explored. Fourth, the different means by which experienced teachers cope with the discouraging factors are examined. Finally, the implications of the Dade County teachers' perspectives are considered.

Discouraging Factors That Affect Teachers Across All Settings

Changing Student and Parent Attitudes and Values Toward Education

According to the sample one of the leading factors which discourage teachers from remaining in the classroom is that their clientele, students and parents, are far less cooperative than they were in years past. Although there is, of course, a generalized tendency to recall the past in more glowing terms than deserved, and although teachers 20 years ago cited students and parents as sources of discontent (Lortie, pp. 176-77), both the number and nature of

teacher statements in the interviews regarding students and parents as uncooperative partners suggest a serious escalation of the problem. The situation seems to span elementary and secondary schools and communities which are poor, middle class, and affluent, although it often reveals itself in differing ways depending on the community context. The expressed frustration comes from not only experienced but also beginning teachers. Beginning teachers compare the students of today with their own and peers' past educational attitudes. First a look at how teachers talked about students.

Students as Unwilling Partners. One of the major themes running through the interviews is that students do not care as much about learning as they did in the past. This belief is expressed by teachers at all levels, but, as one might expect, the sentiment is much more strongly held and expressed by teachers at the secondary level. The problem, however, seems to begin at the elementary level, particularly among children whose parents are perceived as uneducated, uncaring or very busy outside the home.

One elementary teacher, for example, reported that she found teaching more "challenging" than originally anticipated and that much of the challenge emanated from the attitudes of the children and their parents. In her words:

> I had thought that the parents would be more cooperative, that the kids would be more motivated than they are at such a young age -- I guess it has to do with the background of the parents, the incentives that the parents give the kids to want to go to school and want to learn.... A lot of the parents don't have education above elementary school, and therefore can't help the kids. That becomes a problem. I guess the kids feel, why do it if mom doesn't really push me at home and teachers have no control over me after 3:00. (14, F, W, Elem/M, 3rd)

Another elementary teacher talked of children who cannot focus on schoolwork because of severe home problems that accompany them into the classroom:

> I would say that the children that I see coming now -- I just don't remember coming in contact with children who

> were bruised with cigarette marks, children that come in crying and are from broken homes. If my teacher had to deal with it, I never realized it. I never realized that there were situations like that. I must have been in a very sheltered environemnt. Now, there are just so many things that the children are having to deal with, and it's emotionally draining on the teacher. It's not just academics, but to see children who are hungry and a little girl almost faints and you ask her why and she doesn't want to tell you and you take her out in the hallway and she hasn't eaten since Friday and it's Monday. That kind of thing. (09, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)

Still others complain that some unmotivated children have lost respect for teachers as well as interest in school and have resorted, on occasion, to threatening teachers. One elementary teacher spoke of students threatening to sue her if she touched them, and another talked of almost quitting teaching after a small boy yelled, "I'm going to break your ass." (61, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)

At the secondary level, the lack of motivation reveals itself primarily in terms of disinterest in the course content. This appears to be true in the traditionally more popular courses such as physical education and music, as well as in mathematics, English and sciences courses. Although the perceived lack of caring is expressed by students in a variety of ways, each of them is aggravating to teachers.

According to teachers, some of these unmotivated students will do almost nothing while others will do the bare minimum to pass. In either case, the priority for these students often appears to be sports, social life, or a job as opposed to school work. When they do put forth some effort in the courses, the motivation appears to be the grade rather than the desire to learn. The following comments by three veteran high school teachers in different settings capture the overall sentiment:

> Children now do the work for grades. They won't work unless they know you are going to check it. The children in the 50's and 60's would work. They didn't worry about your checking their work. They worked just for the sake of learning, so they could understand how to do these

problems. The difference now is the ones who come to me don't give a tear about learning how to do the problem, they simply want the grades.... We've got so many students who come for football, basketball, lunch hour—everything except to learn.... I really don't know what it is, but I'll find so many children who will tell me, I just want to make a D, and I will tell them, I wouldn't dare have a D on my record. Actually though, there are some who will tell you I want to make an A. But there are a lot of students who all they want to do is pass.... It's hard to believe that children in a high school geometry class will come in with no paper, no pencil, no books. "Where's your book?" "I forgot it." Now how can you justify that, thinking of remembering to come to class and not thinking about the book. (28, F, B, Sr/M, Math/German)

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When I decided to become a teacher I think the students then wanted to learn more so than now. Now they don't care about learning. I feel like the kids now come to school because they have to, they're under-age and they have to come, most of them. ...When I first started teaching P. E. (19 years ago) all the kids were gung ho, they wanted phys. ed., they enjoyed it, and we had a good time. Then as the years went on, I could see that the kids did not want to dress, they did not want to do anything. They just wanted to come out and sit and talk under a tree. (67, F, B, Sr/M, Phys. Ed/Math)

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The kids would rather go out and buy a ghetto blaster, they range anywhere from $79.00 to $200.00, depending on the size, rather than buy themselves an instrument for the band. A lot of our instruments are supplied by the school, and of course, with that many kids, I have 6 periods a day, the instruments undergo a lot of wear and tear, and it is really to the advantage of the student to have his own instrument because he can take it home and practice everyday. Also, they will get on the bus and go to this mall which has a theater in it but they won't get on the bus and buy the supplies, like maybe a mouthpiece or a reed. They just don't seem to think that way.... I think that those who hold teachers responsible for test scores and mediocrity in the schools really need to come in and try teaching themselves. Its very difficult, if the kid is not motivated to learn. You can be a motivating teacher, but there are some kids that just want to "get by." They don't see the need and the value of education.... If the kid does not have it inside him to want to learn--I see it in my band, kid wants to play the horn just good enough to "get by." I try to get them excited, talk about the things they could accomplish if they would practice their instruments, but it doesn't seem to motivate them at all. Even when I play for them, it motivates certain kids, but

> there are kids that are there, they want to be in the band, but as far as being a good musician, a good solid high school musician, they really are not concerned about that. (54, M, B, Sr/L, Fine Arts/Music)

Teachers who are willing to exert extra time and energy to helping those who are having trouble understanding the work are particularly frustrated by the lack of interest on the part of many students. A teacher of 16 years relates the pain and disbelief she has been experiencing in recent years because of student apathy.

> You teach a lesson and kids haven't read the material ahead of time which they're supposed to do and then they don't know what you're talking about. Instead of saying, "Mrs. Carson, tell me how you got from here to there," they say, "Mrs. Carson, I don't understand." "Sure you don't understand, you never even picked up the book." That's the kind of frustration I'm facing this year and last year that I've never faced before. In the past, the kids had questions because they had done the work and they were just confused about something. Now the kids totally don't do their work.... The kids themselves are not basically bad kids. They're just not motivated. We've had a group of kids that are not motivated anymore and I don't why. (01, F, W, Jr/M, Gen. Math.)

She has always offered special help before and after school and even on weekends, but of late she has had few takers. Her growing discouragement is evident in the following statement:

> I've almost given up. This last nine weeks I've closed my doors in the mornings. If they want to come, they can come after school. And I've closed them in the mornings because I've found that just a few of them take the opportunity, and the ones who really need it don't. Offering something to kids that they don't want to eat... I even invited three kids over this weekend. I said, "Come over to the house Saturday, we'll sit at the table and we'll work. Here's my phone number, call me, we'll get together. I'll make it my business to be here. You need the help." I got no phone call and I stayed home all day. And that behavior is not like it used to be. When my kids needed help, they came. I have never in my 16 years of teaching failed a kid that really worked and learned. I have 23 kids failing this year in algebra, out of 96. That's terrible. They don't care. They see me in summer school and they still don't care. (01, F, W, Jr/M, Gen. Math.)

The growing lack of student motivation appears to extend to special education classrooms as well. A teacher in an affluent area talked of her decreasing satisfaction with teaching and linked it to the increasing numbers of unmotivated students. In her words:

> I think my satisfaction is going downhill. Each year I get fewer and fewer motivated students. At the end of this year, I actually cried because I felt that I was losing the cream of the crop and realized what I was going to have when I got back in the fall. I don't seem to have as many kids who are motivated, who really want to learn, as I had the first year of my teaching. (59, F, B, Jr/H, Spec. Ed./L.D.)

A number of teachers report that unmotivated students need to be continually given a reason for coming to school. Over and over again, teachers have to convince them of the importance of education because from these students' point of view there is little meaning or intrinsic value in the schooling process. One teacher described the situation in these terms:

> Teachers meet opposition from the kids themselves. They walk in feeling, "Here is all the information that I have got for you. I am going to educate you, make you a better person and get you a job." The kids listen and say, "Nah, I don't want to do that. I want to stay home and watch T.V...." This kind of attitude brings teachers back to earth. With these kinds of kids you have to work a lot harder. You have to put your nose to the grindstone. You have to be constantly there, after them, trying to show them why they have to do it. It's funny, but these kids don't know why. Why do I have to do anything? They would rather be out working in the supermarket, stacking boxes and making a couple of bucks to buy themselves a big radio or something. (22, M, H, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Dr. Ed.)

Other unmotivated students almost demand to be entertained. Many teachers told us that television has made students "intellectually passive" and "bored with the classroom." The following comments are typical of this sentiment:

> I think that television has had a very detrimental effect on the make-up of the children. Many children will complain that what you are doing is boring. It's not as exciting as what they see on television. Of course, my answer is that there are many boring things that happen in

life, and I am not here to entertain you. (23, M, W, Jr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

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I don't like to have to compete with Mr. Wizard and television. Twenty-five years ago I didn't have this feeling because television hadn't made its impact.... Now they expect bombs and explosions. They are not concerned with learning so that they can protect themselves. I am trying to teach them something so they will have an idea of what it means to be cautious. You don't throw a pound of sodium in a pond and say "Hey guys, look at the fireworks!" But this is what they want to see happen.... Accidents have occurred in the classroom and these have been the things that have brought the greatest joy to the kids.... I don't think they were being malicious, but the fact is that they were delighted to see things go wrong that would erupt in fire. This is what they are looking for. Entertainment no longer comes from a quiet corner for reading with a fire burning.... Down here, I think they may know about burning fires, but they don't know about the quiet corner for reading. This has carried through to the classroom. So you have got some of these vibrant teachers who can entertain. I am sorry, my entertainment days are few and far between. (47, F, W, Sr/H, Gen. Sci.)

Finally, a growing number of students seem to find ways to avoid school or particular classes altogether. According to teachers, students, in particular at the secondary level, have learned to "con" the system. For example, one teacher reported: "The kids have gotten to be such con artists. If they're out of school they can call in and disguise themselves as their parents and call in sick. This can go on for 2 weeks." (33, F, W, Sr/M, Sci. Bio.)

Another teacher at the same school reported:

I've never seen so many children trying to beat the system. A number of students will get their names on the absentee list and then they'll cut the classes that they don't particularly like. A good example is fifth period class which is right after lunch. Maybe they go off of campus for lunch and instead of taking 30 minutes for lunch, they take 45 minutes or an hour. Then they don't bother to go to that class because they've been marked absent in homeroom. I look on the list and see that the student is absent, and so I don't bother sending in a report for that hour. Then I have looked out in the hallway and I have see them. Then when you ask the students what is going on, they'll tell you, "Well, we were late coming back from lunch." (28, F, B, Sr/M, Math./Geom.)

For many of these highly motivated, serious, and achieving teachers, it is obviously difficult to relate to students who do not value accomplishment, hard work, and the simple joys of reading a good book, students who do not care about school and will go to great lengths to avoid it.

While a good many of the complaints about the unmotivated students concern their passivity and unwillingness to do much of anything, there were, of course, also complaints that the unmotivated student often actively causes problems that interrupt the instructional process in the classroom or insult the classroom teacher. For most of the teachers in our sample, a bad day was when these disruptive students predominated and succeeded in impeding the lesson plans of the day.

Although most of the teachers find it difficult to account for, with a great deal of accuracy and specificity, the change in student attitude, many believe that the more general changes in the society have greatly affected childhood and adolescence. One societal factor that was mentioned repeatedly was the pervasive use of drugs by young people. A teacher in a predominantly middle class high school with a large Hispanic population, talked this way about the drug problem:

> I think drug use is widespread. Some schools have it worse than others. I think our school is probably average or above average. It's not so much the marijuana anymore, it's the cocaine that is literally tearing these kids up. (33, F, W, Sr/M, Sci. Bio.)

Another teacher who corroborated the progression to cocaine painted a doomsday picture in terms of the drug culture in the schools:

> Drugs are going to take over, drugs have just about taken over, and I don't think that anybody can communicate with a person who is heavily into drugs.... It started out with just marijuana in the school system, but now its cocaine. They don't want marijuana, they want cocaine, and it's going to keep going on and on and on, and I don't think there's an end to it. (67, F, B, Sr/M, Phys. Ed.)

While the drug use is more prevalent in the high schools, it clearly exists at every level. A kindergarten teacher in a lower class community who has been teaching for five years in the same school she attended as a child is appalled at what she sees as dramatic changes in the values of the community and the behavior of children. She described children who bring neither manners nor a basic sense of hygiene to Kindergarten but who do bring and use marijuana.

Another societal factor, according to teachers, is the materialism of today. Many students who simply cannot afford to buy all that they want, choose to work as much as they can after school, in the evenings, and on the weekends. For most, the job takes precedence over homework or studying for tests. Other students have, in the opinion of teachers, too much money. One teacher put it this way:

> Many of the students I have just don't seem to have the desire to learn. It is really difficult to really pin them down and make them understand that this is important.... One thing that I really think is that the kids today have had too much money. For instance, we have 9th grade kids who drive to school in an automobile everyday. That was unheard of years ago. (31, M, W, Jr/L, Gen. Sci.)

Other teachers believe that the growth and urbanization of the society has had an effect. One teacher, for example, links the changing attitude of students to a loss of community in today's society. In his words:

> We are living in a world of strangers. When I began teaching 28 years ago in these small rural towns, everyone knew everyone else, and if John did something wrong the entire community knew about it, so you had the community pressure. You had peer pressure to do the right thing. Today I don't feel that you have peer pressure or community pressure to do the right thing, and I think that many of the students feel that they can remain anonymous. (23, M, W, Jr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

Still others talk of the changing population which has meant that there are more children from minority groups and poor families in school facing white middle class teachers (Kottkamp, Cohn, McCloskey and Provenzo, 1987). One

veteran white teacher, for example, believes that busing for integration has caused additional burdens for students and teachers which affect motivation and learning. In her words:

> In the last three or four years, I've experienced an uncomfortableness.... The bus scene and the change where it was a forced kind of integration, that's where I see the problem coming from. I see the white kids trying to act black and the black kids trying to act white. In the neighborhood I used to teach in, it was a naturally integrated school and all kids were kids.... From there I went to a school where it was push and shove and black kids came into the schools in a forced situation. I watched and what I saw was that they were being pushed in situations and it wasn't natural, it wasn't effective. So then we see the conflict and the barriers and the whole bit. Educationally the students have gone down.... I have seen too many kids pass through the ranks because of this situation. (01, F, W, Jr/M, Gen. Math.)

This teacher maintained that she has held to her standards but that, unfortunately, has only meant that she has a significant number of students who "hate her" and who fail. Her deep frustration came through in this statement:

> I will not put my standards down; every child will learn. If they do not learn what they are supposed to learn, they will not pass.... But it hurts. About twenty-five percent of the kids aren't making it and another twenty-five percent are getting C's and D's. That's bad, fifty percent! If I had one percent not doing well it used to bother me. But one of my friends said, "It's not you. You're doing what works and it does work. What's happening here is the kids aren't taking your facilitation and using it to best advantage. They'd rather go out and play — you are doing the same kinds of things you always did, but the kids aren't the same kinds of kids, so what do you do? You try to adjust. You try to teach more, spoon feed more — but it's not working." It's not working for me.

According to the sample, however, the most powerful and influential societal change on school-age children has been the changing family structure. Almost every single teacher spoke at length about how divorce, multiple relationships, working parents, and single parent homes had made life more difficult for the youth of today. One teacher who was recently divorced and had returned to teaching in order to provide for her two

children, spoke first hand about the emotional affects that, in turn, have affected her own children's attitudes toward school.

> When kids are worried about the finances and hostility and feelings, they are not always tuned in to school. I don't know this for a fact, but you can see it. I've seen it with my daughter. She gained a lot of weight, she doesn't study. She is social. They like to talk. They need to talk. Make-up, everything is sooner, also. I think there's a lot of pressure on looking mature. I'm not giving full answers but there's so much going on. When you have something personal or emotional bothering you, how can you be effective? It happens to adults, too, in any profession. Breakdowns, and people have these problems. Moving. Lack of being with grandparents, the lack of affection, the anger. They're dealing with anger of parents, and shuffling back and forth. Absolutely, that affects people. If your family is wrong, you're not going to sit there and dedicate yourself to education. You can't concentrate. Money. Kids worry about money when you divorce. "What's going to happen to me?" Very traumatic. (10, F, W, Sr/M, Eng.)

The need for adolescents to talk about their problems was validated over and over by teachers who say that students look to them as counselors, parents, and psychologists. One high school teacher put it this way:

> In many instances, in this day and age, you've got to be the mother, you've got to be a social worker, you've got to be a friend. I have some who come in and sit at the end of the school day who would simply want to talk, not about math, not about any course, they simply want to sit and talk. And they will sit for as long as I'm here. In fact, I will say sometimes, I'm not rushing, but I've got to go. Then, of course, the next day, if they pass by and see me in the room, they'll come in and talk to me again.... They simply want someone to listen.... You've got to be a psychologist." (28, F, B, Sr/M, Math./Geom.)

At the elementary level, one of the major effects on the children is the working mother. Large numbers of small children are at school for over 10 hours a day, and the personnel in the before and after school programs often leave something to be desired. One kindergarten teacher talked of the problem in relation to the district rule on homework for kindergartners.

> First of all, these little kids get dumped here at 7:30 in the morning because mother and dad have to go to work and we serve breakfast at this school. Then we have an after school program and so many of them are not picked up until

> 6:00. Well, I mean it's really important that they get homework then. Mother hasn't even seen them until 6:00 and they have to have dinner and a bath. I mean somebody should spend a little time talking to them. (61, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)

What particularly worries this teacher is the quality of the before and after school experiences and their effects on the children's self concept and attitudes toward school. The staff of those programs often appear unprepared to deal with young children in a positive manner. She explained:

> The afterschool program is housed in the kindergarten so I'm very familiar with it. When I am sitting in my office, I can hear the whole thing, because the supervisors are screaming and yelling. Sometimes the supervisors are university kids who are majoring in education and it's a way to pick up money from 3:30 on but their techniques are nil. They scream and yell at these kids , and here you've gone through a whole day of trying to be positive and then somebody yells at them for two-and-a-half hours.

Although teachers readily acknowledge the reality of the changing family structure and its inevitable impact on children and adolescents in school, they do not absolve parents of responsibility in terms of support for schools and teachers. To the contrary, they still maintain that parents, single or otherwise, must play a crucial role in supporting teachers, and they are highly critical of the job that parents -- in general -- are currently doing. In fact, almost every teacher interviewed believed that the parents of today are the major cause of the lack of motivation among students in their classrooms. They appear, therefore, not to subscribe to the position of Edmonds' (1974) and other leaders of the effective schools movement who argue that all students can achieve regardless of family background or support.

Parents as Uncooperative Partners. Although there were a few suburban teachers who talked of a highly supportive parent group, the vast majority of the teachers in the study viewed parents as a serious impediment to their success as teachers. The complaints about parents, however, took several

different forms and ranged from a lack of involvement and interest to an excess of involvement and interest. In either case, the teacher felt unsupported.

The most frequent complaint of teachers was in regard to parents who do not seem to care enough to take the time to support the teachers' efforts. We heard about parents who do not look at report cards, who do not attend school meetings or performances of their children, who do not supervise homework. These complaints came from teachers in the most affluent as well as the most impoverished areas and from all points in between.

For example, the teacher originally from a lower class community who is now teaching in the same elementary school she attended as a child maintained that the parents in that area are now completely different. When she grew up there, the parents were poor but they cared about and monitored the behavior of their children. Speaking of her own school days, she recalled that: "Parents were involved. There wasn't a day that you didn't turn around that your mother wasn't trying to find out what you were doing. You didn't do anything wrong because if you did, you knew what would happen." (58, F, B, Elem/L, Kindergarten)

Today, however, in the same neighborhood, she described parents who send their children to school without being toilet-trained -- parents who have many children but who are never at home to supervise or help them with homework, parents who are "on the streets ... prostitutes, out mixing with other men, partying," parents "who don't care." Her only explanation: "Their values have changed. They just don't care. They don't know what respect, what a role model is."

We heard similar statements of uncaring parents from secondary teachers in lower class neighborhoods. One teacher put it this way:

> Way back when I thought about becoming a teacher, the parents were more behind the students than they are now. Now parents use the excuse that they don't have time, they're working. Well my parents worked too, but they

> always kept up with us. Now parents don't keep up with their kids. They don't even look at report cards, they don't know what's going on in school with their kids, and I think this is one of the big problems because if we had the parents behind the students then I think we could get more done. (67, F, B, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Math.)

While the common stereotype of parents in poor neighborhoods is one of lack of support for the schools, the equally familiar stereotype of parents in middle and upper class neighborhoods is that they are highly supportive of education. Our data, however, suggests that uncaring attitudes are perceived across the socio-economic spectrum. Reacting to the A Nation at Risk report (1983), which criticizes a "rising tide of mediocrity in the schools" a teacher from a high school with a diverse population countered with the following:

> There are an awful lot of mediocre parents too. I don't think that the whole blame falls on the teachers or the schools. I think the mediocrity is due to a bunch of lazy, uncaring parents.

She too observes a lack of caring that manifests itself in a lack of parental involvement. These parents may not be "in the streets," but many, according to her, are neither up before school nor home after school. In her words:

> If they could see the kids go to school they would be appalled.... If they were home when the kids came home, if the kids came home, they would be shocked to see the waste of time and a lot of other wastes that are going on ... a lot of these kids are doing nothing, nothing constructive. (50, F, W. Sr/L, Lang., Arts/Eng.)

To further substantiate her point, she cited the case of one of her students who is either consistently late, absent, or unprepared. One day, after he brought an absence note signed by himself, which she would not accept, he simply said, "What do you want me to do? I am living by myself. I am on my own."

Another teacher who works in a rather wealthy suburb spoke with great frustration of parents who won't come to PTA meetings. In his words:

> You have to get the people more involved in schools. We had parents' night at school. It's embarrassing because nobody comes. We have a pretty good neighborhood out

> there, a lot of money, upper middle class, and we cover a pretty good range. Just a handful of parents come, it's embarrassing. It really is. And they go through all kinds of methods to bring the parents in. We even try to find the right time when the average parent gets home from work, to try to find the right day. Because you are not going to compete with Monday night football. It's crazy. Isn't that silly? You figure that your kid, your son or your daughter is more important than listening to Howard Cosell on Monday night football. But it's true, they just don't come. We don't get the parents out. This year we had maybe 50, if that many out of 2,800 students. (02, M, H, Sr/H, Phys. Ed.)

Yet another teacher who teaches music voiced his frustration with parents who do not appear for performances because they are too busy, but who always find time to come to school when they have a complaint. To make his point, he told the following story:

> I have had one experience where I had an altercation with a student in the band. The parent of the student had never attended any band parent meetings and the child always said the parent had to work. But once we had the altercation and I was threatening to throw her off for one football game, all of a sudden the parent shows up and wants to have a conference with me. It's as if the parents won't come to see the child to do anything positive. Only when there is something negative, all of a sudden you have the parent visitation. (54, M, B, Sr/L, Fine Arts/Music)

In addition to their failure to be around, parents in all neighborhoods are faulted for their reactions to teacher telephone calls when students are not doing their work or behaving appropriately. A call to parents has traditionally been an escalated step on the discipline ladder, and one that teachers could depend upon for support and constructive action at home. Instead, many of the teachers told us that parents today tend to have one of three general reactions, all of which are problematic. One reaction is that of disinterest. Parents who respond with disinterest are those who say in effect to teachers, "Its your problem, not mine. So you handle it." A second reaction is that of parental resignation. These parents say something to this effect, "I've given up because I can't handle my child anymore. There is nothing I can do." The third reaction and perhaps the most troubling one to teachers is that

of belligerence. Parents in this category defend their child and attack the teacher. A veteran teacher who has experienced all of these types of reactions contrasted them with those he used to get in the past.

> Years ago when I first began teaching, if a student did something wrong, if you ever had to contact the parent, the parent would be furious with the student. I would say in 99% of the cases, the student would be in trouble at home. In many situations today I have called parents and some parents have told me they're not interested, you handle it whatever ways you can. You have different reactions from the parents today. Many of the parents are completely cooperative and will talk to the students or punish them or have some kind of action in which they will follow through, but you also have other reactions. Sometimes, some of the parents will throw up their hands and say I don't know what to do with this person. I never heard that 25 or 28 years ago. I think the role of the parent has changed and this has made it a lot different for the teacher or the school who wants to contact the home. Some parents are belligerent. Immediately if you talk about their child being in trouble, they want to blame you, and this was never heard of 28 years ago. So, to summarize, the role of the parent has changed and the reaction that you would get from the parent is different.... the reaction that you receive from some of the parents might even shock you. (23, M, W, Jr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

Perhaps the ultimate in the unexpected and shocking reaction from a parent that we encountered in our study involved a parent who was called by a teacher and told that her son had drugs at school and was selling them. The teacher who called the parent gave this account of the response:

> The parent came in and gave the kid hell because the kid was taking her stash and selling it. That's what the parent cared about. I started laughing. I said I'm going crazy. I had to leave the office because I broke up laughing. But that was the gist of it. I mean she was mad, not that the kid was smoking, had it in school or anything else, but that it was hers. (02, M, H, Sr/H, Phys. Ed.)

Although the teachers in our study are upset over the parental attitudes of disinterest and resignation, they are livid when parents take the word or side of the student over their version of the problem. The latter occurs most frequently in the more affluent areas, and according to many teachers, there is

actually a problem in a number of schools regarding too much support for students on the part of parents. One teacher told us that "there are parents who try to cover up for their kids, make excuses for them, lie for them, try to get them out of doing required work" and that while the majority of parents are not like that, there is more of that behavior today than ever before. Other teachers told us that wealthy parents can exert enormous power with the administration and with the school board. Parents get grades changed, classes and programs changed, and policies changed. One teacher in response to the question, "Who has the power in this school?," responded: "Dare I say the parents?" She went on to explain:

> I really feel that they are telling us what to do ... more, and more. And I think that is what is aggravating me more than anything else.... They hold us accountable. If the youngster comes home with a bad paper, it is the teacher's fault. If we call the parent to complain about something, the response is "Not my child?" Then there is the matter of the placement of students in classes. I don't think I'm exaggerating that 150 schedules were rearranged, purely because parents wanted it that way.... There are students in the honors program for example who have no business being there, but mother actually takes the sheet of paper and writes down, I want my daughter to be in the honors program, and that is it. (25, F, W, Sr/L, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

This teacher mentions the idea of accountability in a negative sense, a topic that receives a more extended treatment in another part of this paper. One aspect of the overall movement to hold teachers accountable for student learning is, however, an emphasis on making teachers accountable for communication with parents, and many of the frustrations related to teacher telephone calls is that teachers are required to call parents for a whole variety of matters, including student absences, and to keep records of their calls. Teachers described with great irritation the difficulties of finding and reaching parents, and then when the calls yield no results or the opposite of that which was intended, the teachers become highly discouraged.

The power of parents over teachers manifests itself in yet another way that appears to have a profound affect on teacher behavior -- the threat of lawsuits. Teachers were asked during the interviews if there were any conditions of the eighties that made them feel particularly vulnerable, and a number of teachers responded at great length about their fears of being sued for mistreatment of students or child abuse. The problem manifests itself in different ways at different grade levels. One teacher of young children described her concerns in these terms:

> I think there is more stress now by virtue of, maybe, malpractice. I don't know if that's the right word. If a kid fell off the monkey bars and broke his arm, the parents would be inclined to sue you now. Whereas at one time, they would not. You know you have to prove that you were there and you have done everything and you had instructed how to climb the monkey bars. The respect for a teacher is not what it was.... I have to think of protecting myself from a legal standpoint. (61, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)

To protect herself, she writes only "innocuous" statements on students' cumulative records, takes any minor problems like nose-bleeds directly to the school nurse, and has bought, "as a precaution," an umbrella insurance policy in the event anyone chose to sue her for some child-related incident. Another kindergarten teacher talked about the problem in these terms:

> Parents are very aware of their rights now too. That makes us very vulnerable. We're also vulnerable to what's been happening in Dade County recently with the child abuse. With the kindergarten kids, if they couldn't zipper their pants, we would help them zipper. We won't do that any more. If children needed to be reprimanded we would never hit them before, but we might grab them by their shirts and put them in their seats. Now we won't do that any more.... It's not in my job description, but if a child throws up or has diarrhea I would always clean them up and then call the parents. I won't touch that kid now. The way he is is the way he is and he's walked down to the clinic, and we call the parents.... It got to the point that we went to the administration because we wanted a clarification as to whether we could still nurture, could we still put our arm around the child, could we put a child on our lap if he was crying, if a child falls down and gets a boo-boo, are we allowed to the kiss the boo-boo if it's on their elbow? Our principal said yes, that was nurturing, and that was okay, but yet we do it with a little hesitation. All my

> team mates and myself included were very affectionate in a loving way and never thought about not putting a child on our laps or holding a child, but now we do it with hesitation. (56, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)

At the high school level, the concerns are there as well, but they get played out somewhat differently. Teachers are particularly worried about students who might make up stories of abuse that could be believed. The following comment by a female high school teacher captures the fear:

> We are vulnerable with the school student abuse emphasis. It really worries me because I know we have students who are not beyond making up a story just to get even with the teacher. You gave him or her a failing exam or a failing grade or looked at her crosseyed or whatever the case may be. I'm sure it has happened. And I think it's going to get worse because students copy. I think they copy all sorts of things, including lunatics. All sorts of things, and this is the year when you accuse people of child abuse or even sexual abuse. I think some of the stories are true. Whenever I've had an intern, one of the first things I tell them is the first thing that I was told. Never be in the classroom alone with a student, male or female. (67, F, B, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Math.)

A male counterpart in a different high school echoed her sentiments:

> Now this year, men teachers will be hesitant, and I am too, I think about it, if I'm the last one out and there's a girl in the room, I suddenly have a panicky feeling, what if this girl goes, "poof," and says that he tried to rape me. It can happen with a boy as well. We are very cautious, and I think that it has become second nature now, never to be alone in a room with a child. (51, M, W, Sr/L, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

While teachers know that they have a certain amount of protection provided by the teachers union, they still feel vulnerable. One physical education teacher who actually did get sued by the parents of one of his wrestlers, told this story:

> During a wrestling tournament, one of my students was acting up in the stands while another kid was on the mat wrestling. I went up and grabbed him by the back of the neck and I asked him, "What in the hell is the matter with you? You want to act like a fool then you sit outside." Well, what happened was that the story got to the point that I had slapped him, that was what the kid said and two other kids attested to it that I had slapped him. Two other people attested that I didn't, but that I grabbed him

> behind the neck. Then it became a racial thing. I went through the whole ball of wax with the lawyers and everybody else, and the lawyer that the union sent me was horrible. I mean she was to the point of being pitiful. So anyway they put me on probation for a year and then it was expunged from my record. (02, M, H, Sr/H, Phys. Ed.)

Other teachers who hear stories like this do not feel very much protection or power. In fact, a good number of the teachers have concluded that parents and students simply have more rights than teachers. What is even worse, is that many teachers feel that the respect that was once accorded them and the value that was once placed on getting an education has been irrevocably lost. Those who feel it the most keenly are the ones who think about leaving teaching or who discourage others from considering a career in teaching.

The Changing Nature of the Role of the Teacher

A second and powerful factor in discouraging teachers from remaining in the profession is that it appears to be less "professional" than it has ever been. The term "professional" has been defined in various ways, but, according to Hoy and Miskel (1987), there are a number of common characteristics which run through the differing definitions. In their view professionals are people who: (1) make decisions based on a technical knowledge base acquired through extensive training and practice, (2) provide a service to clients and are expected to act in the best interests of those clients rather than in their own self-interests, (3) offer to clients impartial treatment and rational judgements in spite of their own personal feelings and biases, (4) consider their colleagues as their reference group and give their loyalty to the integrity of the profession, (5) control themselves and who expect extensive autonomy in exercising their special competence, (6) have an internalized code of ethics and whose performance is controlled primarily by self-imposed standards and peer group evaluation. (pp. 148-150)

Using this entire set of characteristics as a criterion, teaching has never warranted the label of profession, and a number of educational researchers have maintained, over the years, that it was more appropriately categorized as an "occupation" (Lortie, 1975), a "moral craft" (Tom, 1985) or at most a "semi-profession" (Etzioni, 1964). Still, there have been other groups — particularly teachers -- who have consistently and steadfastly insisted that teaching deserved professional status. The teachers' typical rationale for professional status has focused upon the level and nature of classroom authority and decisionmaking, but most teachers in our sample perceive that their autonomy and decision making has diminished significantly. It is important to acknowledge, however, that most teachers do not say directly that the role has changed and is less professional. Rather they speak of specific changes which tend, when considered together, to change the role dramatically and from one of more authority and autonomy to less. The majority of these changes have been instituted by the district, in compliance with state mandates, with the express intent of improving the quality of instruction by holding teachers accountable for their performance (McCloskey, Provenzo, Cohn and Kottkamp, 1987). They appear, however, from the teachers' perspective, to impede effective instruction and, at the same time, to demean and demoralize teachers.

Keeping Track of Teachers and Students Through Paperwork. Most people go into teaching because they like working with people, but teachers in our sample find that the job is increasingly one involving paperwork. Thus when asked what bothers you about teaching or what do you like least about teaching the most frequent response was "paperwork." One teacher told us she became a teacher many years ago because she didn't like the other options open to her — nursing and secretarial work. Now, however, as a teacher she finds that she

spends a great deal of time functioning as a secretary. Another teacher put it this way:

> The number one thing that I don't like about teaching is "bubbling" in the computerized grade sheets. It's tedious, it's so easy to make mistakes, it's meaningless. Every time I do this I think, but I don't like this kind of work, that's why I'm teaching so I don't have to do this kind of work. The other thing that I don't like is filing all the admits, filing all of this, you know, keeping all the evidence, the paperwork; documentation that I have notified a parent that the kid is failing, that I've called the parent.... Another aggravation is that when we go to make a phone call we don't have enough outside lines to call parents from so you have to keep dialing and dialing and then you have to write it down in the grade book, whether you called them, what you called about. (30, F, W, Sr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

Beyond not liking secretarial work, the teacher above is frustrated because that kind of work takes away time from the time she could be devoting to planning for effective instruction. That was a theme throughout the complaints about paperwork. Typical of the sentiment are the following comments:

> A tremendous amount of paperwork. The paperwork is just overwhelming. Not the paperwork having to do with teaching <u>per se</u> but all the rest -- there is just so much time spent and wasted, some of it with tremendous amounts of paperwork. It's unreal. (40, F, W, Elem/H, 2nd)

.....

> I think there's more, much more stress in teaching today.... I feel tremendous stress from the system itself in terms of paperwork, the charting, the checking, getting audited, our school seems to get audited a lot.---I could not possibly do all my checking and my charting and grading within the school day or the hour planning time. It's not possible and I really resent, you know, then you look in the paper and they say Johnny can't read, and I'm working 24 hours a day and at a certain point you say forget it. (20, F, W, Elem/H, 2nd)

.....

> When I have a good day, I don't have a lot of paperwork crossing my desk that's garbage.... For example, I can see taking roll as legitimate, but trying to chase down why this kid or that kid wasn't there, is he cutting, or is he

> really sick? I shouldn't have to worry about that. Either a kid is in my classroom or he's not in my classroom. Why should I have to call parents and check? If attendance wants to do that, great ... but there again am I there to police the children or am I there to teach the children? What are you paid to do, keep records or teach? I personally would rather spend my time getting the material across to the students than sitting at the desk filling out forms. (47, F, W, Sr/H, Gen. Sci.)
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> .....
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> The more paperwork you give a teacher to do, especially classroom teachers, means that they have less time to teach. Going back to English, because it's the one area I know the best because my wife teaches it — she keeps a folder on each kid and a sheet on each kid and all these things — she spends more time on paperwork than actually what she's supposed to be doing. Mountains and mountains of it. And every time there's something in the paper that says our kids are not graduating with a good enough education, we just get a few more forms to fill out. (22, M, H, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Dri. Ed.)

What these teachers seem to be telling us is that the role of teacher now includes an enormous amount of monitoring or "policing" of students in terms of attendance and an incredible amount of record-keeping regarding student work toward the end of holding teachers accountable to parents. From the teacher's perspective this is a poor use of time which could be better spent on instructional planning. A social studies teacher and department chair spoke cynically about the time and importance given to "covering our behinds with paper" for the sake of parents:

> The principal I used to have was an old military man, and he said: "We cover our behinds with paper." And he meant that pretty literally. We did such ridiculous things as saving all of the papers from the students; folders — for one year -- in case they wanted to challenge us on a grade. We went ahead and labelled the grade (in the grade book). It wasn't enough to say this was a test; but we had to say what the test was on. Of course there wasn't any room to write it in the grade book, but somehow we were supposed to put there anyway. We were also required to send home failure notices and to call the parents because they would not get the failure notices, and then have conferences with the parents.... According to board policy, if a senior has not received a failure notice, you can't fail him. So what do some teachers do? They make them out by the carload to cover themselves. Isn't that ridiculous? I think that's a

> pressure on teachers which cause them to use a lot of time which could be more effectively used in teaching. But if you don't cover yourself by crossing all the "T's" and dotting all the "I's," you will get into trouble. If you don't do a good job teaching, the chances of your getting in trouble are infinitesimal, but the chances of getting in trouble if you don't dot an "I" or cross a "T" — they're great. (42, M, W, Sr/H, Soc. Stud.)

Beyond the accountability to parents, however, teachers are held accountable to their superiors for the quality of their instruction and the primary vehicle again is paperwork. In recent years teachers have been told they must produce lesson plans according to a certain format, turn them in for review at a certain time, and give certain type of assignments with certain degrees of frequency. The amount of time expended to meet these expectations and the amount of control exercised by those outside the classroom are galling to many teachers, especially the highly experienced ones.

One experienced teacher's frustration came through in this statement:

> We had to write out a lesson plan, "The student will ...." It had to have objectives. We wrote this nice thing out. The kid will also tell you to "kiss his ass," but it doesn't tell you what to do if this happens. So what do you do? What we had to do was write all of our objectives for that day on the board. "Today we will dissect a shark, we will look at such and such," and if it wasn't on the board you caught hell. My department chairman gave me hell because I didn't write it on the board. I got a list of referrals to the principal I could have covered this whole wall with. It was stupid, our personalities clashed. As long as the job got done what does it matter, In order to protect your behind it had to be on paper and had to be on the board. That started in '75 or '76 and in my opinion it has gotten worse ever since.... If everybody is looking behind you, who in the hell is doing the teaching? That's how I feel. Everyone is checking out who is going to tell on you.... (02, M, H, Sr/H, Phys. Ed.)

One veteran high school English teacher put it this way:

> I have never gone into a classroom, I shouldn't say never because I slip every now and then, but, over the years, I have always had lesson plans. You have to know what you are going to teach. I mean you can't even after 30 years, I would never go into a class and just teach off the top of my head. I mean I have to know where I'm going and what I'm doing. But does it have to be spelled out? The student will be able to and objective #10, objective #11,

> Dade County objective #6. There are some schools that are doing that. Fortunately, we are not doing that here. We can still spell it out pretty much in our own terms.... But for accountability we have to turn in plans every Friday. There are times you can't get the plans in on Friday and rather than give up marking a set of papers to return to the students, I would rather wait until Monday to do my plans, and the the papers done first, but I don't have a choice. We have to have folders for every student which I have always done because how else do you know how the student is progressing? But now they tell us what we have to put into the folders, and we have to have grade books that are arranged just the way they want them. We have to spell out in the grade book what every mark stands for, every plus stands for, is it green, is it red, is it orange? I mean it is getting almost to be a game. I can see where new teachers would become awfully frustrated with the whole thing. (25, F, W, Sr/L, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

She is particularly upset with the external control over what she teaches:

> Now we have to write one writing assignment per week which most of us give, but now they spelled out what that writing assignment is supposed to look like. We have to give them at least two homework assignments that must be graded, other assignments that we simply check off, and other things have to be graded. You can't do things that way. I know there are schools that actually say that Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday are English assignments, and Wednesday and Friday are science assignments. I can't teach that way ... and with all the years behind me, I'm sorry.

This teacher related other demeaning regulations for experienced teachers such as having to sign off that they read the school handbook each year in the same way that new teachers are expected to and explained that these policies "hurt" because they are an assault on her "professionalism." In her words, "The same accountability they want from the kids they want from us. Maybe that is what hurts." In her view, the concept of accountability is being used with teachers mistakenly and she admitted that she had come to "hate the word accountability." She explained:

> We are constantly being held accountable and accountability is a word that when I hear it, I shake a little bit. It is almost like when I came back to teach and we talked about democratizing education, and that is a dirty word to me because we are not all created equal. We all have equal opportunities perhaps, we are not equal, we are different. Now they have made us accountable. We have to know what we

> are going to do, when we are going to do it, and what hour we are going to it.And now they have thrown this TADS (evaluation system) at us where somebody is going to come into the classroom and tell us what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong. Teachers who have been teaching for 15 to 20 years are trembling. Literally trembling that somebody is going to walk in at the wrong moment, the wrong time. You can be doing everything right and suddenly somebody is going to walk in when everything is wrong. (25, F, W, Sr/L, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

In addition to believing that much of the expected paper work is too time-consuming and unprofessional, many teachers see paper as an exercise in futility -- at best a game that must be played with the administration. The emphasis on lesson planning is a case in point. According to teachers and department chairpersons there is often little connection between written lesson plans and actual classroom performance. Moreover those who take them seriously are the teachers who do not need to be regulated by a specific format, while those who could benefit from more thoughtful planning still find ways to plan superficially. A department head of a large high school who is theoretically supposed to examine lesson plans, make suggestions for improvement, and report to the principal when they are inadequate, maintained that, on a practical level, the process is essentially meaningless. He explained:

> I have gone to the principal and shown her a scribbled out lesson plan, which was terrible, and her response was, "I've seen worse." To myself, I said, "Well, I won't bring you anymore." Yet she was right. What could she do about it basically? (42, M, W, Sr/H, Soc. Stud.)

According to this department head, the principal had no practical means by which to make teachers produce carefully thought-out and well-developed lesson plans. The blame, he believes, belongs to the teachers union, which, through negotiation, has completely weakened the policy. He explained:

> The principal realizes that there is nothing she can do about it. Sometime the principal will try by asking the assistant principal to come around and sort of, how shall we say it, needle the teacher a bit. Usually, this means that the next two or three times the teacher would use a

> little bit more care, but not much, and then go back to the old way again.... So the way it works is that we only require them to make it appear that they had had a good lesson plan. In reality, by negotiating with the union, they have allowed them to be watered down to nothing. From a practical standpoint, they ought to do away with them. They serve no purpose except they make administrations, school boards, and the public think they exist. It's a game. It shouldn't be, you understand. I believe in lesson plans. (42, M, W, Sr/H, Soc. Stud.)

Other teachers believe that the idea of improving instruction through paperwork is a basically flawed notion. As one teacher told us: "I think they're trying very hard to make great teachers out of some people who are not great teachers, and I don't think paperwork is the way to do it." (22, M, H, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Dri. Ed.)

While almost everyone complained about the paperwork associated with accountability, some teachers were clearly overwhelmed by it and considered leaving teaching because of it. The English teacher quoted above said she had considered leaving teaching because of the recent controls and paperwork which she found demeaning and others at the elementary as well as secondary level expressed similar considerations. One elementary teacher with 15 years of experience in the same school has recently made the decision to leave the classroom, and she directly linked her move to the pressures of accountability. She has found the record-keeping expected in relation to the children's acquisition of basic skills "insurmountable," particularly in light of larger classes and no assistance in the form of teacher aides. In her words:

> It's just the demands, the paperwork, insurmountable piles and piles of paperwork, and all the forms and all the charts, all the schedules you've got to keep. When I first started teaching here, 15 years ago, we had an aide, every class had an aide. And you had certain guide lines and objectives and curriculum to follow, however, so much wasn't mandated to you. You've got to do this and you got to have this, and you're accountable for this and you must to this, and you must have that. So it was a more relaxed atmosphere. You didn't see all the pressures, like now. It's just so much pressure because you always feel that I should be doing something that's not done. You're doing as much as you can. Believe it. But there's always something

> hanging over your head that has to be done, and you still got to do more. You got to do more, so it's like the pressures of it all, the mounds and mounds of paperwork. Not children's work I'm talking about but other kinds of forms and charts and things that you have to turn in to the administration. (12, F, B, Elem/H, 2nd)

She readily acknowledges that the blame should not be put on the building administrators, for, from her point of view, they too are victims of a larger hierarchy. As she sees it, the state pressures the school system, and the system pressures the individual building principals who in turn funnel the pressures down to the classroom teacher. The end result is, however, devastating. In her words:

> And with all of this combined, it gets to be too much, it's like I've had it, I've had enough of it, and it's like its just too much to expect of one person. Like I said, we started out with aides, we don't have aides now, you have more kids in the classroom now and you have almost double the amount of paperwork that you are expected to do. You are accountable for this and your children must master this and they must have that. What am I supposed to do? Open the head and pour it in? You do the best you can, and you try to impart to them the knowledge that you have and that's it.

Loss of Control in Curriculum and Evaluation. As teachers talked of the pressures of paperwork and the resulting loss of autonomy and control, they also referred to loss of control that had little or nothing to do with the increase in paperwork. In the area of curriculum, for example, teachers feel that the central office is making too many decisions that belong to the classroom teacher. Most teachers believe in guidelines and objectives coming from the district, but they maintain that daily decisions on instructional matters should be within the purview of the teacher. The following comment by an elementary teacher captures the general dissatisfaction with the current specificity mandated from above:

> I believe that we have to have some kind of guidelines, but we have taken the word guidelines and made them into specifications. A guideline is one thing, but we don't need "On Tuesday do this, on Wednesday do this, and Friday don't forget to give a test." And it keeps getting worse

> and worse. I think that on the first teacher workday last year they handed me about four notebooks of guidelines. (26, F, W, Elem/L, 4th)

The area of teacher evaluation is a changing one, and while teachers have never exercised much control over it, it is now going into a new direction that teachers dislike but feel powerless to affect. In Dade County, there has recently been implemented a district-wide system of evaluation called TADS which consists of 120 items on a rating scale. The purpose of the system is to identify instructional weaknesses and then to provide remediation. After two years of piloting and teacher training sessions, it is now being used regularly throughout the system. In addition to this instrument, there have been 2 merit pay plans employed within the district in the last year. One is a state designed and implemented program which assesses individuals for merit pay increases. The other is a district merit program which offers pay raises to schools which have been designated meritorious on the basis of school-wide achievement through collaboration by the entire school staff. (Provenzo, McCloskey, Cohn, Kottkamp, and Proller, 1987) The only plan that teachers are comfortable with is the merit school one. The individual assessments are generally distrusted because teachers have little or no faith in objective evaluation. Beyond this fundamental concern, there are specific objections to each plan.

The TADS program, for example, is seen by most teachers as too detailed and too structured, with little opportunity for on-the-spot decisionmaking by the teacher. They object to the provision that requires teachers to complete a lesson even when it was not working as planned and might be better redirected or abandoned. The following comment captures the concern:

> I feel that if you are in a lesson and it's not working, by all means go on to something else even though it is not on your lesson plan. Also, there are times when a student will ask an absolutely brilliant question and that is the time to investigate and answer it, not at a later time. But according to the new system, you have to follow through

> with what you are doing, but then you have lost ... a golden opportunity. (23, M, W, Jr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

According to this teacher, within the new evaluation system if a teacher deals with a student question that is not specifically and sequentially related to the objectives of the lesson plan, the observer will rate the teacher negatively. The sheer number of the items is also seen as a significant drawback. All 120 items are to be rated within a single class period, and if a teacher fails on any one of the items, he or she cannot pass the evaluation. This teacher's frustration with the number of items to be assessed came through in the following statement:

> I think a rating scale with 120 items is very dangerous. I would like to know how any individual can go into any classroom and rate an individual on 120 items in 40 minutes. I think it is impossible. I think that you have to guess at some of them.Also the worse thing is if you miss on one item you are marked substandard and fail the evaluation.... If one student puts his head down and sleeps — perhaps the best thing that I can do is let him do that in that particular situation -- but if one student does that, we are off task. I am rated down, and I do not get the rating. I'll be written up, and unless I can defend my actions, which sometimes might be hard to do, I will be in trouble."

What this teacher and others are saying is that the rating system does not respect their understanding of the teaching-learning process and it does not give them the control they need to perform well. The complaints about the individual merit pay system make that same point and many more. The interviews were filled with objections to that program, its criteria and implementation and to the demoralization that occurred as teachers who were considered by themselves and their peers as effective received ratings of less than 50%. Thus while evaluation has traditionally been outside of the control of teachers, the external evaluation process currently in use has been escalated to a more extensive, more formal, and more traumatic set of procedures.

The Changing Status of the Profession. Throughout the interview process, teachers expressed over and over again their sense that teaching as an

occupation is no longer respected by the general public. They feel it in the reactions of students and parents, they read it in the media, they hear it from people outside the profession who wonder why they either chose to teach in the first place or continue to teach rather than pursue more lucrative and less stressful opportunities. The following comments capture some of the sentiments relating to the loss of respect and status:

> I think it's harder to hold on to the satisfactions, in today's world as a teacher than it was. When I became a teacher it was a wonderful thing to become, there was a lot of pride, you know, from family and from community, and that role certainly has changed. And I think it's much more difficult to find satisfaction as a teacher today and to stay in the profession. (20, F, W, Elem/H, 3rd)

.....

> I remember years ago people looked up to teachers and the children's parents looked up to teachers. If a teacher made a decision, then that was it because the teacher made that decision, not any more.... I think that parents should teach the children to respect a teacher, to look up to teachers, encourage the children do do the lesson, stop trying to get by. (01, F, W, Jr/M, Gen. Math.)

.....

> There's no respect for the job....I've lost some respect of society with this profession. People don't think we are important, but we are the future, you know, we hold the future of these young lives here, and I think that they should respect our position. I think that's the number one thing, the respect, loss of respect that society has for us especially, and its really heartbreaking to me that these people don't respect me 'cause they're talking about my profession. (29, M, B, Sr/M, Soc. Stud./Civ./Gov.)

.....

> Everyone I go out with says, "Why are you teaching?" " How can you support yourself?" "What's wrong with you?" That's the attitude. One of them is a lawyer, and he taught for a while, and he said, "I loved it, I was really good. But you're crazy to stay there." (10, F, W, Sr/M, Eng.)

According to Lortie (1975), teaching has always been a "special but shadowed" occupation. He explains: "The services performed by teachers have usually been seen as above the run of everyday work, and the occupation has had

the aura of a special mission honored by society. But social ambiguity has stalked those who undertook the mission, for the real regard shown those who taught has never matched the professed regard. Teaching is a status accorded high respectability of a particular kind; but those occupying it do not receive the level or types of deference reserved for those working in the learned professions, occupying high government office, or demonstrating success in business." (p. 10)

Now, however, the great majority of experienced teachers in our study maintain that the "high respectability of a particular kind" and the "professed regard" are a thing of the past. They feel that most of the public no longer looks up to teachers or values their services. Most of all they believe that the public has little understanding of the complexity of the work. They attribute the decline in status primarily to the changing attitudes of parents and children, to the negative reports in the press, and to the women's movement which has generated alternative career possibilities with far greater compensation for women. Speaking to the last point, a female elementary teacher who has enjoyed teaching for almost 28 years told us:

> I had to take what was open to me at the time I was in college and that was teaching. Then I got to know it and I got to appreciate and love it, but if I had to do it today, knowing what I do now, I would not want to be a teacher. Being a teacher today is not being successful--in most people's eyes. (66, F, W, Elem/H, 4th)

While the public's growing lack of esteem is clearly a frustration in and of itself, the situation is greatly exacerbated by the teacher's own sense that the occupation is becoming less and less professional and more and more stressful as a result of the accountability movement. The majority of teachers interviewed feel the autonomy and authority they once enjoyed is almost non-existent because they are being forced to spend a good portion of their time keeping track of the activities and progress of students as well as of

themselves through an ever-increasing amount of paperwork, being told by others what to teach as well as how to teach in their own classrooms, and being subjected to an increasing number of evaluation procedures which they do not believe accurately measure what they are trying to accomplish. In their view the role of the teacher has changed and in a most negative and nonprofessional direction (McCloskey, Provenzo, Cohn and Kottkamp, 1987). Some are leaving the classroom because of the change, others are staying on but are very unhappy, and still others have found ways to ignore or cope with the change. Every teacher interviewed, however, believes that the loss of professionalism is a serious problem for the occupation and one that must be addressed if the educational system in America is going to be improved.

Money: The Most Widely-Acknowledged and Persistent Problem of the Profession

While the attitudes of the teacher's clients and the nature of the profession appear to have undergone major changes, the long-standing problem of low salaries has not changed significantly. Almost every teacher in our interview study discussed money as a serious problem, and many of the women felt particularly pressured by the recognition that they could now find much higher paying jobs in other fields. Most often the complaints compared the salaries of teachers with the salaries of other occupations, maintained that we cannot expect the best if we are not willing to pay for it, and linked the low status of teaching directly to the relatively low pay. The following comments capture just a fraction of the frequently expressed frustrations regarding salary.

> Society could best show its high regard and respect for teachers by paying teachers according to what they are worth. I feel that a person, who goes to college and has been in it for years, he should get paid the money that he deserves from his training. When a garbage collector obviously make more money than a beginning teacher, there's a problem. (29, M, B, Sr/M, Soc. Stud./Civ./Gov.)

.....

> I always thought teachers were up here somewhere and had to be looked up to and it was an honored profession. It has been. If you go to Europe it still is. Here in the United States somehow we've lost a lot of prestige as teachers and basically it's because of how little we're paid. Why? My brother-in-law calls me up every month or so from California and he tells me how much he's making, and he's just got a high school education. He says, "Why are you settling for it, you're a sucker, you're not getting any money." He's out there making surf boards and making a bundle. So, things like that bother me. Like a kid coming right out of high school today who passes a civil service test and gets a job at the post office is making $18,000 to start. It took me five years to get to that. When I started I was making $14,000.... I know we lose topnotch people because of money every year and that has to be the number one priority -- to get the funds to give a teacher a salary which would induce people with real talent to come into the field because so many really intelligent people who could probably do great are going into the private sector and getting super jobs out there for money.... I think the mentality of our state administrators and people who run this state and this country has to be somehow altered to realize that they're not going to get results unless they do something to enhance the field. These people are always demanding better education for our kids, we want our kids to be able to read and do everything else, but they're not doing anything to improve the system other than making it more difficult for teachers to teach. You know, if they want a good administrator on the state level, they pay him a lot of money. (22, M, H, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Dri. Ed.)

.....

> I absolutely feel that we have to face the real issue and the real issue is that you need a decent standard of living for people to enter the profession and stay in the profession. I think it is a real crisis, and I think merit pay is nonsense.... I think that the public wants us to be the best, they want us to produce the best, everyone wants a quality education for his or her child. However they want us to live on an income where I could not give my family the kinds of things everyone wants me to service them for, and I think its outrageous. (20, F, W, Elem/H, 2nd)

A number of teachers talked about their own children, money, and the profession. Some discouraged their children from considering the profession because they felt they could not live on the salary. A few who had reaped much satisfaction from teaching encouraged their children to teach, but the children

themselves were not satisfied with the salary. The following statements by two highly enthusiastic teachers convey the problem:

> My son taught for one year when he graduated college. He wasn't sure what he wanted to do, and he had a degree in physics and psychology, and he got a job teaching physics in a private school. I think he got $11,200 for the year. He went on and got a masters in technical writing, and he works for a computer company and now he's making over $30,000, only two years later. He truly loved teaching and it is a shame. He also juggles and he came to kindergarten when he was visiting down here, and he juggled for the kindergarten. He was just a natural with them, and I thought that really is a shame for the teaching profession that he couldn't be a teacher. (61, F, W, Elem/H, Kindergarten)
>
> .....
>
> My daughter just graduated with a degree in business administration and marketing. She started her position three months ago, and she's bringing home forty dollars less than I am.... I have both elementary and secondary certification and I've taught down here full time for 5 years.... That's a bit embarrassing to say the least. (49, F, W, Jr/M, Soc. Stud.)

Low salaries, fewer motivated students and cooperative parents, a changing role that is less professional, more stressful, and lower in status than ever before--these then are the key factors that are most discouraging for teachers across the spectrum of grade level, community context, and years of experience. There are, however, some additional factors that are significant but situational, that is they are positive in some schools and negative in others. These are the physical conditions of the school and the quality of leadership to be found in the building principal. Where these factors are negative, they can intensify or even cause job dissatisfaction as well as the desire to leave teaching. Where they are positive, they can facilitate the coping with the other discouraging factors.

Situational Factors That Can Increase or Alleviate Job Dissatisfaction

The Physical Conditions of Teaching

Although all of the teachers interviewed worked in the Dade County Public

Schools, the facilities and materials for teaching differed dramatically from school to school. We found this situation to be both surprising and disturbing. In some areas, poor physical working conditions seemed to result from over-crowded schools. In other areas, there appeared to be a correlation between the facilities and materials available and the socio-economic level of the community. Finally, we found that there appeared to be some basic services that were missing from all schools.

For example, because of crowded conditions, a number of teachers have rooms that are far from comfortable or conducive to learning. One teacher who labelled his working conditions as "fair" gave the following description:

> I'm in a huge auditorium room with small classes, which is sort of bizarre. You feel like you're in a huge cavern. That's not so bad, but I don't feel like I have any place where I have my own desk or file cabinets or anything like that. I keep all my material in a closet that is in back that they use for storage and they had a leak from one of the folding doors which went down into my files, which I am now trying to redo.... It's a huge place and I just don't have any one area where I can keep by materials and keep them away from anybody interfering with them. I've had materials taken, and it's been difficult. For the past couple of weeks the air-conditioning in the building has not worked well, and there is no other ventilation. In the auditorium particularly, where I am, is the first place to get hot. Last week the temperature in there was about 90 degrees. In that type of situation, I don't even worry about teaching. It's not fair to me, it's not fair to the students. Part of the problem at our school is that they built a new school because they were over-crowded and now we're over-crowded again. So, I had no other place where I could take the students. We were expected to sit in that room and suffer and I refused. I moved my students to the cafeteria where it was air-conditioned and just gave them a reading assignment to do. (15, M, W, Sr/L, Gen. Sci.)

Another teacher angry at the prospect of having to teach again in a "portable" classroom gave us this account:

> They are not air-conditioned. They are old termite infested portables. I already put four years in a portable when I first came out of P. E. I air-conditioned it, at my own cost, put grills over the windows, so that they wouldn't be stolen because I was in the middle of the field then, and so that the balls wouldn't come flying through and hit somebody..... Now they are telling me I should go

> back out there.... They are unfit. They are termite infested. They are hot. They're terrible conditions. They're the old WWII boxes, they aren't even considered hurricane proof because they don't even have tie-downs. You have to tie down a mobile home in a park, but you don't have to tie down a portable that children are in. I was out there one time, and we had a tornado watch, and it came over the P. A., "All students stay where you are." The worst place to be is in a portable. One time it was raining so hard, they couldn't even get out of the door. It was raining under the door, so I said just stay where you are. There was no way to communicate with the office to say where my students were. The other kids couldn't get out, they stayed in the auditorium.... They're absolutely deplorable. (33, F, W, Sr/M, Sci./Bio.)

Because of the crowded conditions, however, some teachers do not even have their own classroom of any kind. These teachers "float" around the building and as a result they seldom feel in control. A high school teacher returning to teaching after a lengthy absence described the difficulties of being a floater in these terms:

> Not having your own room is very bothersome. I floated around last year and I float around next year. It really changes the whole pattern of organization. I would always leave something in a room. When you don't have your own room, I think that really lowers how competent you can really be.... You can't possibly keep track of everything ... and it just gives you a feeling of not being in control. You're not. I think if that could be worked out, that's a simple procedure. Most of the teachers in my school float around.... A business executive doesn't float around, he has an office and can be more organized and to work under those conditions seems primitive and silly.... Losing books ... leaving kids' papers in another room when they want them just undermines the continuity ... it's not good. (10, F, W, Sr/M, Eng.)

Another teacher without her own room in a different school had this to say:

> The conditions here are terrible to work under. It's just like at the very beginning of the year, I didn't have a room, I was going from room to room, trying to teach math, and I ended up in the cafeteria where there's no blackboard. It is murder trying to teach math without a blackboard. Now I am over here next to a room full of lawn mowers and you smell gas all day. (67, F, B, Sr/M, Phys. Ed./Math.)

These statements suggest that there are some teachers who are being expected to function in situations where the physical set-up is substandard to

say the least. Visits to schools for interviews confirmed that reality, particularly in lower socio-economic areas, where buildings were often gloomy, old and dilapidated, or prison-like in appearance. In other areas of the county, however, there were schools in park-like settings which were new, open and cheerful, and rich in materials and resources. The absence of the basics in terms of physical conditions in some schools and the presence of plentiful resources and aesthetic surroundings in others seemed to have a definite effect on the attitude of teachers. For teachers already highly frustrated by other factors, the lack of adequate space and materials added fuel to the fires of discontent. On the other hand, pleasant physical conditions seemed to take the edge off of other sources of discouragement. For teachers who were transferred from a more comfortable situation to a less comfortable one, there were bitter moments of adjustment.

The Quality of Administrative Leadership

Just as there exists considerable variation in physical settings, there appears to be considerable variation in the quality of leadership of the building principals in Dade County Schools. The quality differential in turn can greatly affect the satisfaction level of the teacher. Unsupportive administrators have caused some teachers to want to leave teaching, while supportive administrators have made some teachers sorry to see the school year come to an end.

Many experienced teachers who had worked under a number of different administrators explained how the principal could be a crucial factor in their feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. One high school teacher, for example, described how a particular principal almost drove him out of teaching:

> For a while I was fighting it [teaching] because I got in a rut. I was having so much trouble with this one administrator, and I let it bother me, and I usually don't. Then I got to the point where I was worried about what

> people thought of me, parents and so, and that was controlling a lot of my abilities and for two years things just weren't right. Everyday I went to school it was a drag, although the classroom itself wasn't so much of a problem, but just the idea of going. The principal was just so negative, and I thought it was just me. Over the years I found out that it wasn't just me that was having a problem, a lot of people were. He is retired now, they kind of eased him out. It was kind of rough and I was going to get out of it. At that time, it was 79-80, I was seriously thinking about it because it was really driving me up the wall. Then I transfered over to another school and things were different. (02, M, H, Sr/H, Phys. Ed.)

This teacher, as well as others, maintained that the entire tone of a building can be determined by the principal and his or her staff:

> The whole mood of the school hinges on that one individual.... I worked for a principal for my first 5 years who was a great man. Then they brought this other guy in who, to me, was so negative. He would berate a teacher for the way she dressed over the damn loudspeaker. Or, Mr. So and So didn't punch out. All the ghetto schools had to use a time clock. The other schools didn't have it, but the ghetto schools did. There were only 5 white teachers in the school at the time. We had to punch a clock, we had to do all kinds of crap. This new principal was going to be the knight in shining armour, he was going to save the school from whatever was going on there. He came in and he just made so many radical changes, it was unbelievable. We asked him for a lot of things because we had a lot of problems in the late sixties and seventies, a lot of things were going on in the ghetto schools. Times were changing and people were changing. He wouldn't give us any help at all, and then one day he got up there and gave some teacher hell for the way she was dressed. Not to wear a pantsuit or something like that. This is during the day, and the kids can hear all of this. We had two incidents with guns up there, and he refused to get involved with it so we had to take care of it ourselves. It was kind of shaky. Administration is the name of the game, I don't care what anybody else says.

This last comment reveals both the variation in physical working conditions that exist (in some schools teachers have to punch a time clock) and the way in which poor leadership in the person of the principal can contribute to teacher disatisfaction with the job. Another teacher at a junior high school explained how different principals have really affected his work and his life:

> Last year I had an excellent year, I really felt good. Now the year before that I had a very down year but that had

> nothing to do with the students. I just had to get out of the school that I was in because I had a problem with the administration. The administration I felt was running the school right into the ground and I was powerless to do anything about it so I left, but I had a very bad year as far as that. As far as the students were concerned, I had a very rewarding year but you don't want to have to keep banging you head with administration. I applied for a transfer and since I had been at the same school for 19 years, I was granted a transfer ... and I had an excellent year here last year, really a good year. And I mean, at the end of the school year I felt great and I was sorry to see the year end. So there have been good years and bad years, and unfortunately I would say the bad years have been the result of administrative problems rather than social or student problems or anything else.... I think that the administration, the team at the top of the school makes the difference. They make a good school or a bad school. They make a happy school or a very unhappy faculty. (23, M, W, Jr/H, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

Teachers told us about administrators whom one "could never please," administrators who "generated pressure throughout the building," administrators who "didn't have much contact with teachers," administrators who were "inconsistent," administrators who were "unsupportive" regarding discipline problems, administrators who "would give special breaks to certain people and not others," administrators who "caused friction with teacher against teacher," administrators who were "picky" and "demanding," and administrators who did not have the knowledge and skills to be instructionally helpful to teachers. One veteran elementary teacher told us that the young teachers often come to her complaining that the assistant principal is "on their backs." Her response is as follows:

> I'll say, say to her, I don't know what you expect of me, please come in and show me. You'll never be bothered by that person again. Because the principal doesn't want to come into the classroom today and show you. You'll never see her again. It works. (66, F, W, Elem/H, 4th)

At the same time, however, we heard about principals who were well organized, completely supportive of teachers in regard to discipline problems and parents, principals who were a positive presence in the school, and who went to great lengths to shield teachers from excessive paperwork and regulations.

Thus, from the perspective of the teachers, the quality of administrative leadership varied enormously within the district and the variation could be a powerful factor in making school and classroom life either a positive or a negative experience. Interestingly, a number of teachers, even those who were highly critical of their principals, commented that in many ways the principals were more victimized by the bureaucracy than the teachers. There was, from our point of view, an amazing empathy on the part of teachers and a recognition of the difficulties that accompanied the position of principal. Still they would like to feel more support and hear more praise and appreciation for their efforts in the classroom from the building administrator.

Differences Among Discouraging Factors

While the Dade County teachers saw all of the above factors as serious problems of the profession, their conversations suggested that these factors seemed to be weighted somewhat differently for recruitment and retention practices. In recruitment, the key impediments to opting for a career in teaching appeared to be money and status, while in retention, the major problems appeared to be unmotivated students and uncooperative parents, and the changing nature of the profession. For the teacher sample, money appeared to be a dissatisfier but not a motivator. (Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman, 1959) What we heard in effect was that teaching has never yielded high salaries, but that the joys of working with young people, the intellectual stimulation that came from deciding what to teach, when, and how, the relatively unpressured, non-competitive and secure environment, the respect of others and self in regard to providing an important service to individuals and to the larger society, and the convenient scheduling for women with family responsibilities tended to compensate for the lack of financial reward. Now, however, with a growing number of unwilling and uncooperative clients (students

and parents) and a profession which is characterized by less time and autonomy for instructional matters, more pressure and paperwork as part of the move to accountability, less respect from self and others, and less security because of teacher testing and merit pay, teachers are beginning to ask themselves, why should I work under these conditions for this salary? When these conditions are exacerbated by a lack of the basics in terms of physical necessities like a room of one's own or a closet to keep one's materials in, or a chalkboard, and a lack of support in terms of an effective administrator, the answer becomes almost obvious. It goes something to this effect: "Unless I can find a way to ignore or cope with these problems or can find a school where the conditions are somewhat better, I should leave. That is of course unless I don't feel secure enough about my abilities to find another job or I have so many years invested that it seems silly to leave. In that case, I should just try to wait it out until retirement." What we found through our interviews was that some teachers knew how to cope with the current conditions and were still able to get the intrinsic rewards to sustain them, and some had found better working conditions and the consequent intrinsic rewards by moving from one school to another. Some, however, were overwhelmed and burned out but remained because they did not know what else they could do or had only a few years until retirement.

Differences Among Experienced Teachers' Ability To Cope With Discouraging Factors

Listening to the different types of teachers and analyzing their ways of talking about teaching, we have found certain patterns that seem to exist across those who remained highly enthusiastic about teaching and those who were highly dissatisfied. We have examined these patterns in depth elsewhere (Cohn, Provenzo, and Kottkamp, 1986) but allude briefly to them here as they play a role in some of our recommendations.

The Highly Dissatisfied Teacher

Teachers at the low end of the satisfaction continuum in this study talked of the bad days in the classroom far outnumbering the good days, (One teacher could not even think of a single good day), moreover they consistently saw the reasons for their failures outside of their control. As we have seen above, all of the teachers interviewed encountered serious barriers to success and satisfaction in their schools, but what distinguishes the teacher at the low end of the satisfaction continuum from those who remain enthusiastic is their belief that they as individuals are powerless to confront and overcome any of these barriers. For example, one teacher described bad days as those in which "the kids do not respond at all and there is nothing you can do." [emphasis added] In her view the responsibility and blame lies with the principal:

> I'm getting less satisfaction now because of discipline. Because before, the principal was firm--but now with this lady, they don't learn. When they go to the office, she isn't firm. The kids can't learn, the classroom isn't quiet or settled. You have to have discipline in order to learn. You can't teach with children yelling. (43, F, B, Elem/M, 4th)

For another of these teachers the fault lies with the deficiencies of the children: "It's a Chapter One class and that's the next thing to special education, so, I mean, how much can you do?" (58, F, B, Elem/L, Kindergarten) [emphasis added]

With teachers at the extreme low end and those approaching it, the locus of control was consistently outside rather than inside the individual. Richard de Charms (1968) in his research on motivation and personal causation describes "pawns" as individuals who feel controlled by outside forces and "origins" as individuals who can initiate and excercise some control over their lives. The teachers who were highly unsatisfied but remained in teaching consistently expressed themselves as pawns.

The Highly Enthusiastic Teacher

Fortunately, at the other end of the continuum, there were some teachers who despite all of the frustrations (and they clearly experienced and expressed them) felt highly enthusiastic about classroom teaching, and looked forward to going to work every day. They seemed to hold in common the following characteristics: a deep sense of mission about being a teacher, a student-centered as opposed to subject matter centered view of the world, an origin rather than pawn-like approach to negative conditions, be they children's attitudes or paperwork, a willingness to give more than they receive, a conscious effort to build variety into their work, and finally the ability to shut out many of the external pressures by "closing the classroom door" and enjoying the students. These teachers encounter the same unmotivated students and uncooperative parents as the others do, but as "origins" they take on the challenge and get the students motivated. The following comments capture the attitude:

> You have to stimulate them to the point that they look forward to coming to you class. If they look for ways of getting out of it, then you're not being interesting enough. (33, F, W, Sr/M, Sci. Bio.)
>
> .....
>
> ...When you are dealing with a hundred and seventy kids, you know, you just can't depend on your good days coming from all those kids, you have to be part of that. You have to make the day good. (21, F, H, Jr/M, 6th)
>
> .....
>
> If they have come in feeling bad about they have read, I turn them around and then they feel good about what they read.... You do see a change in attitudes in high school students, there's no question about it.... I see a change in attitudes from the beginning to the end of the year--I already see a change in the two weeks that I have been teaching these two groups in summer school. I'm a molder. I get them to do what I want.... (50, F, W, Sr/L, Lang. Arts/Eng.)

This last teacher also takes mandates, regulation, and paperwork in her

, stride. In her words:

> State and federal mandates,— we have them, but I don't pay much attention to them--I still do what I want to do in English. I do what I feel is necessary to do—They want to do something, I do it, but I also do what I want to do.

The message that we got from this teacher and others like her was that of a more generalized confidence in one's own judgment and a strong conviction that the teacher is in a better position than anyone else to make intelligent classroom decisions. Moreover, we heard the self esteem to act on one's convictions.

Summary of Findings and Implications

The overall view from the classroom teacher on the problems of the profession is disturbing because it reveals a multifaceted and interrelated set of issues that have roots in broader societal, economic and political factors that cannot be easily or quickly manipulated or changed. The changing attitude of students and parents, for example, is not something that can be reversed by legislative or district mandate. It is the result of a myriad of societal factors involving changing school populations from desegregation and immigration movements; ethnic differences, conflicts, and inequities; changes in moral standards and behaviors in the areas of sex and drugs; the development of mass media -- just to mention a few.

Further, the teachers told us in a loud and single voice that the current attempt to improve instruction through greater regulation and accountability is impeding instruction rather than improving it and, at the same time, is making the profession less "professional" and therefore less desirable to bright and creative thinkers who need autonomy and time to do their best work. (McCloskey, Provenzo, Cohn and Kottkamp, 1987) The accountablity movement is of course in full swing and is the product of larger societal attitudes related to efficiency, effectiveness, and evaluation in the marketplace. One assumption

of the accountability movement is that teaching and learning activities can be thought of as inputs and outputs and that a teacher's performance can be monitored and measured in terms of productivity, but teachers and others (Wirth, 1983; Wise, 1979; Darling-Hammond, 1984) take issue with this position. Another assumption is that learning occurs when there is a molecular and mastery approach and that teachers need to break down skills such as reading comprehension into sub-skills and tecch and test frequently and keep careful records of each student's mastery of each sub-skill. A third assumption is that teachers are not intelligent or knowledgeable enough to make the important decisions related to what should be taught, how it should be taught, and how it should be evaluated. A fourth and related assumption is that a hierarchial and centralized decisionmaking arrangement in schools and districts is much more efficient and productive than collegial decision making, although this assumption has been widely challenged of late in the business sector as a result of our knowledge of the Japanese and Scandinavian notions of quality circles and employee involvement. (Wirth, 1983)

The issue of teacher salaries compared to those in other fields remains a serious problem, despite the fact that problem has been thoroughly documented and that there have been recent efforts to improve salaries, particularly for beginners. Public attitudes that the work is easy, the economic structure that puts resource allocation to the schools in the hands of local communities, the new opportunites for women and minorities are just a few of the obstacles that need to be confronted if teaching is to become lucrative enough to compete with other professions for the "brightest and the best."

Finally the variation that exists in terms of physical working conditions and school leadership by the principal has its roots in economic and ethnic inequities as well as the quality and training of individuals for administrative positions in the schools.

With such a deep-rooted and challenging set of problems, there can be no quick fixes. We need instead to generate a bold combination of short-term and long-term recommendations that will lead to immediate changes to address the potential shortage of teachers and, at the same time, confront some of the broader issues upon which any meaningful, systemic reconstrual of the profession depends.

Still, we must move with some degree of caution. The Dade County teacher sample is a small empirical base, and to move from the teachers' perceptions as expressed in 73 interviews to a set of policy recommendations for the nation is a giant step. The recommendations that follow are offered then as suggestions for discussion and consideration rather than as changes to be implemented. They grow out of our interpretations of the problems of the professions as identified by the Dade County teachers and the differences that emerged in the weight teachers gave to them in regard to recruitment and retention practices as well as the differences in coping patterns that revealed themselves among the most enthusiastic and most dissatisfied teachers in the sample. Although we suspect that these perceptions are both reasonably accurate and widely shared by teachers across the country, we would expect that corroborating data would be sought before any major actions would be taken on these recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGES IN POLICIES AND PRACTICES AND FOR RESEARCH

To address the problems of the profession as delineated by the Dade County teacher sample, we make recommendations in four areas: recruitment, selection, retention, and research.

Recommendations For Recruitment

To stimulate interest in teaching as a career among bright and knowledgeable individuals who have strong interpersonal skills and a high

commitment to public service:

*Increase Beginning Teacher Salaries to figures comparable to entry level positions in other occupations open to college graduates.

*Increase the status of teaching as a career choice on college campuses by developing intellectually rigorous teacher education programs, by stressing the service aspect of the work, by putting as many resources in the education departments and schools as in the business schools, by requiring all college students in either their freshman or sophomore years, to take a course featuring observation and participation in a elementary or secondary school. Participation could involve some type of logistical assistance to the teacher or some type of student tutoring under the close supervision of the teacher. The latter recommendation will serve several purposes. First it will get young people in schools working with children and adolescents. Our data suggests that while many of the enthusiastic teachers chose the career for many different reasons, a common element was that the moment they found themselves in a teaching-learning situation with children or adolescents, they knew they wanted to continue. We believe that although the conditions under which teachers work have become far more difficult, there still exists, for many, incredible excitement and reward from "reaching a child" or "seeing a light bulb go on." We need our youth to be close to that experience so that they might get "hooked" on the idea of working in the schools. A second potential outcome of such a requirement is the message that an understanding of education is as important in one's liberal arts background as mathematics, science, English, and history. Finally, first-hand experience on the other side of the desk could begin to prepare our nation's future citizens and parents for a greater understanding of the complexity of teaching and for a more cooperative and supportive role in the local schools.

*Create Career Incentive Plans which will entice college students to consider teaching as an interim or long term career goal. One possibility is to make some cooperative arrangements with medical, law and business schools and corporations which hold that, all other credentials and achievements being equal, college graduates who are willing to spend 3 to 5 years teaching, would then be given preference for admission or employment. Training for these short term positions could be somewhat shorter and more oriented to the liberal arts than other teacher education programs. In many colleges and universities, however, students graduate within a liberal arts program with a double major. One of these could be math or biology or political science, and the other could be education. Even if the education major is used for a relatively short period of time, the skills derived from the major areas of planning, communication and evaluation can be highly valuable in other fields.

*Develop High School Recruitment Strategies that include teaching to peers and younger children (cadet teaching programs) and collaboration between high schools and schools and departments of education at colleges and universities.

Recommendations for Selection

To select for teaching positions individuals who will be able to cope with the current conditions of teaching:

*Look for individuals who, in addition to being intelligent and knowledgeable about the content to be taught, exhibit:

a sense of mission. The enthusiastic teachers in our study believed that teaching was the most important profession, for they deeply affected the future and they taught the doctors, lawyers, and other prestigious member of society.

a student centered approach rather than a subject matter approach to teaching. The enthusiatic teachers in our study

clearly believed that subject matter was important, but they saw themselves as teaching students rather than teaching content. They understood the importance of being able to relate to the learners in order to reach them with the content, and they thoroughly enjoyed and respected students as persons.

origin-like as opposed to pawn-like behavior. From our point of view, one of the most crucial aspects of the enthusiastic teachers' ability to cope with the changes in the students' attitudes was their belief that they could control the situation by their own responsiblity and ability to motivate the learner. This attitude also enabled them to handle the paperwork and regulations handed down from above. They had so much confidence in their own abilities and sense of what should be done, that they could act on those beliefs by deciding what to pay attention to and what to ignore. This attitude also enabled them to "close the classroom door" and to receive the instrinsic rewards through their own skills in pedagogy and motivation.

a willingness to give more than one receives. The job of teaching, if it is to be pursued with energy and responsibility for motiviating the learner, is a difficult and draining one. Even with significant pay increases, it is doubtful as to whether the salary would ever equal the time and energy required to do the job well. Teachers who are willing to invest of themselves heavily are needed for today's schools.

a well-rounded background and a risk-taking attitude. The enthusiastic teachers in our study appeared to have either hobbies to refresh them or the capacity to teach different courses and units so that they did not get overwhelmed by the day to day drudgery that can accompany teaching. Each of them consciously built variety into their lives.

a mentally healthy attitude and a well-organized style. A teacher who can take the pressures and the paperwork appears to be one who can put them in perspective and efficiently dispose of the most menial and time-consuming.

skills in interpersonal relationships. To deal with students, parents, administrators, and colleagues effectively, teachers have to have the ability to understand the perspective of each and to act on that understanding.

the pedogogical skills to motivate and communicate with clarity. The enthusiastic teachers in our study appeared to have a wide repertoire of strategies to be highly successful with all students, the motivated and unmotivated alike.

The characteristics listed above suggest a renewed emphasis in the selection process on personal attitudes and skills as well as pedogogical strategies. The current emphasis on academic ability and knowledge acquisition, while essential, appears to be only the beginning. Unless the above characteristics are also present, we believe the selection process will not yield teachers with staying power. One interview instrument that is currently being used to determine some of these personal attitudes is the Teacher Perceiver developed by Selection Research Inc. (Golias, 1982). This

instrument and the development of others seem critical if we are going to select the right type of individuals for teaching.

Recomendations for Retention

To keep able and successful teachers within the profession appears to be the greatest challenge of all and the area that will require the most in the way of major societal and organizational changes. Toward this end, we recommend:

*The Deregulation and Decentralization of Schools. Teachers and principals need to feel much more control in terms of classroom and school decisionmaking. This does not mean that there should not be high expectations, high standards, and methods of evaluation. It means, however, that teachers and principals, working as colleagues, should together with district personnel and community leaders and parents set broad goals and methods of evaluation, but that the specifics of what to teach, how, and when should be in the hands of those who have been selected to hold the trusted positions of teacher and principal. If, of course, teachers, using their own judgment and skill, cannot reach the goals, then other procedures will have to be implemented or appropriate consequences will have to follow. The notion of deregulation has also been recommended recently in the domain of teacher education where similar problems exist. (Mehlinger, 1987) The idea is to set the standards and then let the professionals make the decisions on how to reach the standards. If we do not find ways to give teachers the automony and responsiblity of other professions, we will never able to attract and keep highly intelligent and knowledgeable people in the field. Our current attempts to reform the schools through regulation, mandate, and accountability are possibly the worst possible way to achieve the intended end.

*A Mechanism for Involving Parents as Willing Partners in the Process. Parents are critical to the educational process and one long range goal is make schools places where parents come to learn as well as to support the efforts of teachers.

*An Emphasis on Changing Student Attitudes Toward School. We believe that starting in elementary school, there has be a systematic effort to help students see the relevance and importance of school. In addition to seeing the purpose of school, students have to find schools interesting and enjoyable as well as challenging. The current emphasis on drill of basic skills and testing does little in the way of providing activities which stimulate student curiosity and motivation. To the contrary it promotes a sense of meaningless and a feeling of passivity and disinterest.

*A Reduction of the Teacher's Load. To expect teachers at the secondary level to teach 5 or 6 classes a day and to expect elementary teachers to work with young children all day without more than 30 or 45 minutes for lunch and to expect that in both cases lessons are taught in a clear, motivating, and stimulating fashion and paperwork is done effeciently is to expect the impossible. Today we not only expect this but also we expect teachers to continually attend inservice workshops for improving instruction and to go back to school for graduate work. In addition, teachers' time is consumed by extra-curricular activities and meetings with faculty and parents. We need to think about restructuring the school day so that teachers have time to think and plan and regroup. This restructuring might involve separating the teachers' instructional duties from their secretarial and custodial tasks.

*Improve the Physical Conditions of Teaching. Every teacher must have his/her own room, adequate materials, a place for materials, access to telephones and copying machines, and a clean, well-maintained building to work in. Without the fundamentals, able people will see little reason for remaining.

*The Improvement of the Schooling of Teachers and Administrators. Teachers must come to the classroom with better pedagogical strategies and principals must come to schools with better leadership strategies.

*The Development of a Process for Eliminating Discouraged or Burned-Out Teachers. One of the greatest frustrations expressed by large numbers of teachers is the fact that there are too many teachers who disgrace the profession by sitting at their desks and "collecting a paycheck." One of the phrases that appeared and reappeared in the transcripts was "collecting a paycheck" and it was used to explain that there were a lot of teachers who did very little and had no commitment to their job. The respondents felt these teachers gave all of them a bad name, and they would like to see mechanisms for removal of these people. Related to this was the fact that the payment and retirement system encourages people to do less as the years go on and then to "wait it out" until retirement. An examination of how teachers can leave the profession earlier without too much penalty seems important if we are to ensure the performance of those who remain.

*Higher Salaries for All Teachers. Given the demands of the work, all competent teachers deserve and must receive higher salaries. The status and viability of the profession depend upon its ability to pay teachers decently. For most teachers, money is not a motivator, but the current low pay scale is clearly a major source of dissatisfaction and discouragement.

Recommendations for Further Research

*Interview studies should be conducted in other sites to further our understanding of the teacher's perspective on the problems of the profession.

*An analysis of the changes in student and parent attitudes should be conducted to determine if the perceptions of teachers in this area are accurate. If the perceptions are accurate, research should be conducted to determine why.

*Research studies must be conducted in the area of learner motivation. There is a serious need to understand how to get children and adolescents to want to learn.

*An in-depth study of teachers who have left teaching and of individuals who have left other occupations to become teachers should be conducted. There has in fact been some movement in both directions although more are certainly leaving than entering. In addition to understanding the present teachers' perspective, it seems important to understand from the leaving or entering teacher's perspective the positive and negative structural aspects and working conditions of varying occupations in order to improve the nature and working conditions of the profession of teaching. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (Metropolitan Life, 1986) has conducted a survey of teachers who have left the profession, but we need more detailed perceptions and we need studies that track the movement in both directions.

*The development of interview or other kinds of instruments that can identify the candidates with the qualities needed for success and satisfaction in teaching should be pursued.

Conclusion

The agendas set forth in the above recommendations are broad and wide-ranging. The individual proposals vary from concrete to abstract, from simple to complex, and from short-term to long-term. Together they create an educational vision filled with both realistic and idealistic components. If, however, we do not face the circumstances as we heard them from the teachers and set our sights on making the teaching profession a more ideal and desirable one, we must accept the unmistakable and inevitable result -- a second-rate school system. Since that reality is too grim for almost any American to accept, let us begin the process of reconceptualizing and reorganizing the

- teaching profession into something that will have the status and substance it deserves. There is no more urgent and compelling task for our national, state, and local educational leadership.

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